776 spirits (abasimu) (No. 44, p. 286). In Ruanda the religious society Kubandwa is dedicated to him (see p. 124), and after death he is the judge of the just and the unjust. For this reason he plays a more important role than any other god in the ethical and emotional life of the Barundi, and the same is true in Ruanda. This is also demonstrated by the fact that Riangombe (or Imana) is the protector of what to the Murundi and the Munjaruanda are their most treasured possessions: their cattle (see p. 46).

776 According to Ruanda tradition, Riangombe during his
773 human existence was a Muhima of the privileged kin group, the
772 Bega, the highest nobility next to the royal family of the Banjeginja. His father, Babinga, was the religious head of Ruanda, and Riangombe became his successor as the chief of the ababandwa, the religious fraternity. At the same time the political king of Ruanda was Lugansu who at first made war on him but then recognized and honored him (No. 44, p. 281). Imana was very favorably disposed toward the high priest Riangombe during his lifetime. When the latter died, Imana led him to the high volcano Muhawura where Riangombe now grazed his herd and planted his tobacco (the large-leafed Senecio). The plantations, however, were destroyed by the evil spirit Niragongo who resides on the mountain of the same name [Nyiragonga]. Then Riangombe, backed by Imana, sallied out against Niragongo, destroyed his dwelling, and set fire to the mountain (the volcano Nyiragongo). Now Riangombe alternately lives undisturbed on Muhawura and Karisimbi [Mountain] where he grazes his large, sacred, milch cattle herds and where he is served by the imandwa, the spirits of the deceased members of the religious society of the ababandwa. These alone enter his "Paradise," while the souls of unblessed, profane persons (abansigo) are relegated as demons (abasimu) to Namlagira and Nyiragongo where in the "Hell" of the volcanos they lead a shadowy existence as slaves. This is the Ruanda tradition as reported by Father Arnoux (No. 44). The essential elements of this tradition have also been preserved among the Barundi. Indeed, one still finds here even the account that after his death Riangombe was buried on the

776 mountain "Vurunga wa niangombe" in Ruanda (No. 19, p. 216),
● 773 although the Virunga volcanos of northern Ruanda are completely
772 unknown to the Barundi. The concept of Paradise and Heli (Karisimbe and Nyiragongo) is probably of local origin in Ruanda; in Urundi nothing of this sort is known (van der Burgt, written communication).

776 Both in Urundi and Kisiba, Riangombe is mainly regarded as the protector of cattle. In Kisiba he is only worshipped by the Bahima, and his priest is always a Muhima. However, he does not enjoy special status in Ankole (No. 34, p. 520). Further, since in Ruanda and Urundi he (next to Kiranga) is the focus of worship for the religious fraternities (ababandwa) and since in Urundi he is even revered by the Batwa as their chief deity (No. 19, p. 216), one may conclude that this herdsman's god, who evidently came into the country with the Bahima, has gradually been adopted by the Negroes and has become established in the old Negro mythology of the Bahutu and Batwa.

[123] Father Loupias, however, is of a different opinion. He assumes that Riangombe was originally a deity of the Bahutu or perhaps of the Batwa, and he states that in Ruanda neither the king nor the "great" Batussi are members of the order of the imandwa which is dedicated to Riangombe (No. 28, p. 6). The latter statement, however, is true also for Urundi, but it might be interpreted as aristocratic reserve on the part of the Batussi nobles against close contact with the Bahutu or with the Batwa.

Among the other Barundi deities which have not been mentioned above, the following are most probably the old indigenous gods of the agricultural Bahutu and the Batwa: Indagarra is the god of procreative power, a "Priapus," who is worshipped especially by the Batwa; Njamurimi is regarded as the protector of the fields; Njankuru is the national god of the Basige in northwest Urundi; Ingansje appears to be a god of time, "Chronos"; Wandamutoni is the wife of Imana; Ikisjego is the son of Imana; Tusara is the god of the spirits of domestic service, "kobold"; Kwiguka is the god of lewdness; and there are many others (No. 19, pp. 216-220).

Three socio-racial castes are to be distinguished among its peoples: pastoralist Batutsi[1] (about 10 per cent. of the population), agriculturalist Bahutu (about 85 per cent.), and Batwa, hunters and potters (about 5 per cent.).

Man and the Material World

The world in which men are placed and which they know through their senses was created *ex nihilo* by *Imana*. The Ruanda word *kurema* means to produce, to make. It is here rendered 'to create' because our informants say that there was nothing before *Imana* made the world. This belief concerning the origin of the material world is universal and clear. To any question on this point, the answer is ready.

The Banyarwanda assert that we do not see the whole of the material world which was created at that time. The world of our experience is flat; its limits are far away and made of fences like the ones we see around kraals. On these fences there is a big rock which is the sky we see. Beyond the rock there is another world (*ijuru*) similar to our own, with hills, trees, and rivers. This world may be said to be heavenly only in the sense that it is above the sky: it is not a paradise but rather a richer duplicate of our world. Under the soil on which we tread there is yet another world (*ikuzimu*) also conceived as similar to our own. There is nothing infernal about it. The material universe is thus a kind of three-storied construction. It is not impossible to go from one floor to another: some people and animals came from the world above to the intermediate world and, according to some legends, one man at least went to the lower world.

In our world the moon and the stars (which are kinds of glow-worms) stay high up in the sky. The sun rises in the morning and in the evening reaches the end of the world where a powerful man kills it and cuts it into pieces. Then he throws the main bone across the vault of heaven to the East where it grows up and the following morning the same process begins again.

In essentials our world was created as we see it now, but there have been some changes in the course of its history. Some hills were raised up by the kings of Ruanda; the formation of Kivu Lake is accounted for in different folk-tales. Cattle, which rank so high in the Ruanda scale of values, also made a special appearance on the intermediate world. The stories give more than one version of their origin but they agree on their arrival in a world already constituted and inhabited by men. According to some tales, creatures did not originally have the same bodily form as they have now. It is said, for instance, that horns were given to animals after they had been created.

This, and a belief that the world is now slowly degenerating, getting old (people's stature is decreasing, cows give less milk), suggest that the Ruanda conception of the universe is not a wholly static one. The world does not remain the same, it is in process of evolution. However, when direct

[1] In this paper, following the common use, we have kept the prefixes of the Ruanda words, such as *mu* for the singular and *ba* for the plural.

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been observed or when 'causes' have been discovered in the sphere of human phenomena, events happening according to these recurrences or following these causes are considered as intelligible without any reference to the supernatural world. But when events cannot be explained by reference to natural antecedents or causes, or are surrounded by peculiar circumstances, the intervention of ghosts or sorcerers is suspected and a diviner is consulted. If somebody has tuberculosis (*igitundu*) and none of his forebears or the people with whom he lives has suffered from that disease, it is thought that sorcery is the cause. If somebody dies from an illness usually considered 'natural', but the death occurs a few days after a theft of which he is the supposed culprit, he is said to have been magically stricken at the request of the robbed person.

This attitude is in fact quite coherent. When the natural cause is known, the event is attributed to it; when it is not known, or appears extraordinary on account of the circumstances, the explanation is given in terms of beliefs concerning the non-material world. Why do Westerners not use a magical frame of reference on similar occasions? First, their wider knowledge of natural sequences of antecedents and consequents makes the residuum of naturally inexplicable facts more restricted. For instance, a sudden death appears to them quite understandable for purely medical reasons. To Banyarwanda, on the contrary, a sudden death is an event of which the physical causes are completely unknown. Second, even for residual facts not scientifically explained, there is in Western culture a faith that, given time and effort, a scientific explanation will be found. The Munyarwanda has no such belief in positive science. Third, for the disconcerting circumstances which may be coincidental with illness or death, the concept of chance, which does not appear frequently in Ruanda culture, is resorted to. However, Western believers in a provident God see in these exceptional circumstances, not an accidental constellation, but a sign of the meaning God intends to give to the illness or death.

A threat permanently dominating the mind of the Bahutu was that of being accused of sorcery. This danger was connected with the invisible world but was objective enough, for such an accusation could result in being killed and, of course, merely to refrain from anti-social magic did not ensure immunity from being called a *muroxi*.

The Nature and Situation of Man

Kazikamuntu (which may mean Root-of-Men) is the common ancestor of all mankind. Created by *Imana*, he had, among other children, Gatutsi, Gahutu, and Gatwa who, as their names indicate, are the ancestors of the three Ruanda social and 'racial' groups. Gatwa killed one of his brothers and for that reason was cursed by his father. Gahutu, who had been chosen by his father as heir and successor, had been commissioned by him to accomplish an important mission. As a result of overeating, Gahutu fell asleep and could not collect the information his father wanted. Gatutsi, on the

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other hand, got it by his sobriety and cleverness. Kazikamuntu then chose Gatutsi to be the chief of the brothers. There are numerous versions of this tale. Moreover, the stories concerning man's creation are often inextricably mixed with the legends about the arrival of the Batutsi in Ruanda. The same names appear sometimes in the creation, sometimes in the conquest stories. In general the latter are better known. The summary given above is thus only one of the various accounts of the origin of mankind.

According to a widely known folk-tale, Death, personalized as a sort of animal, was hunted by *Imana*. He told all men to stay at home in order that Death should not find a hiding-place. An old woman, however, went out to work in her banana-grove. Death, pursued by *Imana*, asked her protection. Moved by pity, she let the animal hide under her skirt. *Imana*, in order to punish her, decided then that death should stay with men. This story might perhaps suggest a belief that there was a time when men did not die. But we could not find other elements to corroborate that interpretation.

On the ontological character of man two points are certain. First, an adult human being is considered to be different from an animal by virtue of his faculty of speech (*kivuga*), his intelligence (*ubwenge*), and his will (*ugushaka*); but the difference, if any, between a small child and an animal is not quite clear. Second, no one of these attributes is equated with the surviving spirit (*muzimu*). There is something in the human being which, after his death, becomes *muzimu*, but there is no agreement as to what it is. According to a fairly common opinion, the *muzimu* is the metamorphosis of the *igicucu*, the shadow cast by the body in sunshine. But according to some informants, this shadow is only an image of the spiritual shadow which is the essence of the post-mortem spirit. In conformity with that opinion, the living man is said to be made of three components: the body (*mubili*) which, after death, becomes a corpse (*murambo*); life (*buzima*), which disappears; and the shadow (*igucucu*) from which the surviving spirit (*muzimu*) results.

The heart is believed to be the seat of intelligence and affectivity. It is conceived as a single organ although some ways of speaking suggest that it is double. For instance, it is frequently said: 'One heart told me this, one heart told me that.' This is another application of the habit of attributing opposed effects of the same cause to several causes, but this is only a verbal habit which does not deceive anybody.

These uncertainties regarding the nature of man indicate that Banyarwanda do not make any clear-cut distinction between the concepts of body and mind. Although they recognize parts in man, they prefer to consider the unit rather than its components.

Whatever the culture, human experience is made up of a sequence of events and activities, such as working, eating, sleeping, maturing, suffering, mating, getting old, and dying. What is the Ruanda attitude in face of these universals of human life? In many societies these happenings are considered not in their naked reality but in terms of the beliefs held as true in the particular culture. For instance, in a society with a Christian ideology, to

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a very considerable extent universality and absoluteness, qualifies some of its commands. The degree of absoluteness and universality of the Ruanda rules of conduct is much lower. We might say that most of its precepts are qualified in relation to persons and circumstances. To steal cattle was forbidden, but a Mututsi could take the cattle of a Muhutu who had no lord. For a Muhutu to rob a foreigner was not forbidden. A wife might not commit adultery, but she was allowed to have sexual relations with people when ordered by her husband to do so and, even without her husband's permission, a woman could have intercourse with her husband's brothers and parallel cousins. Killing a man was prohibited, but not if he was an enemy of Ruanda or of the family, and if the feud had not been barred by the king. Banyarwanda certainly had no idea of rules of behaviour applicable to all men in virtue of their common humanity. This is perfectly consistent with the Ruanda conception of mankind and the very significant inequalities which Banyarwanda observe between themselves and neighbouring peoples and, among themselves, between the different castes.

To conclude, the rules of human action which prohibit or enjoin the use of certain means in order to achieve the culturally recognized values of Ruanda are sanctioned, not only by organized and unorganized social reactions but also by individual conscience or guilt feelings. The foundation of this moral code is not religious or supernatural but traditional; its content is a multiplicity of rules synthesized under a few moral principles. Particular precepts do not have a universal application but are relative to persons and groups.

Human Relations

Two principles dominate the field of human relations in Ruanda: inequality of men and indefinite reciprocity.

For the Banyarwanda all men have indeed a common nature; they are ultimately the descendants of the same ancestor. But this notion does not seem to be very significant, for Banyarwanda are much more impressed by the differences displayed by the various castes. The characteristics of these castes are stereotyped and repeated in many folk-tales. Batutsi are intelligent (in the sense of astute in political intrigues), apt to command, refined, courageous, and cruel. Bahutu are hard-working, not very clever, extrovert, irascible, unmannerly, obedient, physically strong. Batwa are gluttonous, loyal to their Batutsi masters, lazy, courageous when hunting, lacking in restraint. These characteristics, with differences in stress and shading, are generally recognized by all Banyarwanda. As they reflect the Mututsi point of view, it appears that the superior caste has been able to make other people see themselves in important respects as Batutsi see them. Moreover, those qualities are considered to be innate, not acquired. A Mututsi is born clever and a Muhutu impulsive. Some tales, more widely known than those concerning the creation of man, relate how the first Batutsi came to Ruanda

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from the heavenly world. According to some versions of this tale, they came with their servant, Mutwa, who mated with a forest ape. From that union all Batwa are descended. Such tales clearly reveal the fundamental differences which the Banyarwanda see among their castes.

When such a picture of 'natural' differences, so significant from the point of view of power, is accepted, the inevitable consequence is that some men are born chiefs and others labourers. Inferiority and superiority are due not to personal qualities but to membership of certain groups. By belonging to different castes, people have fundamentally unequal rights. If an ordinary Mututsi kills a Muhutu, one kinsman of the murderer could eventually be killed in retaliation if the king authorized it. If the murderer was a Muhutu and the victim a Mututsi, two lives were taken.

The principle of the fundamental inequality between social groups thus established in Ruanda has spread from the original inter-caste relations to intra-caste situations. A man superior to another member of his class because of his functions or his wealth, or even his ability, tends to assume towards his inferior an attitude similar to that of a Mututsi *vis-à-vis* a Muhutu. Of course the conception of inequality between superiors and inferiors of the same class is not so rigid as that between the castes, but it permeates all hierarchical situations in Ruanda.

The theme of inequality was embodied in the indigenous political organization, so that political relations clearly express the attitudes socially expected from superiors and inferiors. They are quite understandable if one bears in mind that they originate from an inter-caste situation. Authority as such is all-embracing. According to Western conceptions, any authority is defined not only as regards the people who are subject to it, but also in respect of the matters falling within its competence. A man who gives orders to another because they are on different levels in a hierarchical scale may be considered his equal in other relations. In Ruanda, there is almost no sphere of life in which an inferior is free from the interference of his superior. Because Batutsi are considered fundamentally superior to the Bahutu, there is no field in which they can feel equal. This attitude has been transferred to any hierarchical situation. The complementary attitude of dependence is, of course, expected from the inferior. Inferiority is the relative situation of a person who has to submit to another in a clearly defined field; dependence is inferiority in the totality of life. The dependent person has to submit to his master in any question. There is no domain where he is free even to express a contrary opinion. As the dependent has always to acquiesce even when orders are quite impracticable, he has to conceal his opinions and find excuses for not doing what has been ordered. Double-dealing, politeness, or a utilitarian conception of language, are the only defences of the dependent. Some time ago, a Ruanda deliberative assembly of people of standing was asked its opinion on a contemplated reform. When the most important person had given his views, everybody voted for his proposition. But after the assembly, many expressed disagreement. At the

173 in the royal cemetery which retained his name and which is called Luhanga. Must he be regarded as the Hamitic chief who was first to come with his family and a few compatriots and occupy the area, after staying in the Ndorwa at a place called Mutara, which seems to have been the first stopping place of the Batutsi at the threshold of Ruanda?

Along with Ruganzu II, he is of all the ancient kings the one most often mentioned and the one whose legends are prized most highly by the people. According to a curious legend, one of his [773] daughters is said to have discovered and domesticated the first cow, from which the others descended. The narrative built around this memorable event is very popular and contains several episodes. Gihanga is also regarded as the inventor of fire, which he bequeathed to his son and successor.

This alleged discovery has won Gihanga special honors. The official chroniclers maintain the most profound silence about the nine following kings, whose names alone they have preserved.

Did they all really exist? It is not easy to answer this question clearly, for we have not yet left the legendary realm. Gihanga, indeed, is regarded as the father of all men. His sons became the ancestors of all peoples. Kafomo, who is mentioned in the legend concerning the introduction of cows into Ruanda, gave birth to the Bashubbi (Basui), or people of Usui. /79/

Kanyarwanda, the heir to the throne, gave birth to the Banyarwanda. His immediate successor, Musindi, twelfth in the dynasty, is regarded as the founder of the Basindi, or Banyiginya, clan, the most powerful among the Batutsi (1).

1. Most of the important families have picked out for themselves imaginary ancestors. Among some of them, however, the claimed ancestry is authentic.

[DR] The sacrificer-diviners, known by the name of Abosha, claim to be descended from the famous Lunukamishyo,

644 231 778 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).

The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits. [769 782] The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste [766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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1. Ku or kw' before a vowel, or mu or mw' before a vowel /sic/, is none other than the preposition "at, in."

also says isekera, from the verb gusekera, "to cultivate," because the fields are readied at the end of summer although no planting or sowing is done, hence the difference from the word guhinga, which also means "to cultivate" but with immediate planting in mind.

2. Urugaryi. This term designates first and foremost the time when beans are cultivated (mw' itabira ry' ibishimbo) and also the time when the beans yield pods (imishogoro) tender enough to eat (gashogoro). This same season includes about a month of good weather, which enables people to harvest the beans and which has earned it the name of "little summer season." This first harvest usually takes place in January or February.

3. Itumba. This season corresponds roughly to our winter. The word that designates it comes from the verb gutumba, "to swell," to indicate that the clouds keep piling up and the rain keeps falling. Hence the synonym Urushyana, "time of heavy rains."

4. Ichyi or Mpeshi designates the summer season when the harvesting is done, hence the two synonyms mw' (1) itema from

/1. See footnote (1) immediately preceding./

gutema, "to cut," and mw' isarura from gusarura, "to harvest."

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As for the origin of the months and seasons, /429/ legend states that King Gihunga sent two of his sons to an important personage who controlled rain and good weather in order to ask him for divisions (ibihe) in the year. This extraordinary man was called Kibariro, "he who knows how to count." Thanks to the gifts that were presented to him, he agreed to adjust the year in this fashion. We can see that the Blacks manage to explain everything with their imaginative minds. It is also obvious that a slight tongue-in-cheek attitude always transpires through their many tales. It must be said, indeed, that they are not

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invariably gulled by their own legends and that they do not have absolute faith in them, although they tend on the whole to be rather naïve.

Another legend explains the origins of the Bashara, or corporation of appointed rain makers.

This took place, according to the chronicle, under the reign of Yuhi I. Drought prevailed throughout the land of Ruanda and threatened to destroy everything. The king, in his anxiety, called his son Rushura and ordered him to go to the Kinyaga and see Nyamukama, a famous sorcerer who controlled the rain.

The prince's mission was to learn from the rain maker the secret of drawing the beneficent element to the earth. His pride flattered by the royal request, Nyamukama gave the envoy a sealed wooden pot with instructions to hand it over to His Majesty. "Be very careful not to open it along the way." he warned, "and give it to your father just as it is." When Rushura had gone half the distance, he was overcome with curiosity. "I have been entrusted with something, and I don't even know what it is. Let's see, I'll open it...." He undid the knot which held the grass cover. His eyes scanned the inside of the pot. He saw nothing.... The water had evaporated across his face. When he returned to his father, Rushura gave him the precious vessel. Yuhi opened it in turn and, to his great surprise, found it empty. "Is this all that Nyamukuma gave you?" the king asked. "Yes, father, this is all." "In this case, my son, you must return to the rain maker and ask him why this vessel is empty." /430/

Rushura left the royal hut, very much worried about the whole thing. He lifted his eyes to the heavens with a sigh. At that moment the clouds gathered and shed upon the earth an abundant rain.

Puzzled by this strange phenomenon, Yuhi called back his son and asked him to tell the truth, for he realized that something unusual had happened. Rushura shame-facedly confessed to his father what he had done under the promptings of curiosity and what had ensued. In spite of the sorcerer's warning, he had wished to look and the water had evaporated across his face, hence his sudden and unforeseen vocation as a rain maker.

Yuhi, who was very fond of his son and wished to give him the throne, had to choose a new heir and leave Rushara to his new fate.

773 This is how the young prince became willy-nilly the father of the
821 present Bashara, or rain-maker, lineage, which has inherited his
614 vocation.

If they wish to bring rain, these people[1] go outside, look at
789 the sky, and spread out their arms. If they wish to favor only the
821 hill they inhabit, they must sit. If they wish to benefit the entire land with their astonishing power, they must stretch out at full length and spread out their arms at the same time. The storytellers add that this is how the descendants of Rushara have acted ever since that time.

Up to these last few years, rain makers were exposed to
[686] serious dangers. It was not unusual to hear that one or another of those unfortunate creatures had been killed or thrown into the river for failing to produce the needed rain on time.

[773] According to another interpretation of the same legend which is very popular in the central province of Nduga, Rushara disobeyed the orders of the sorcerer at the proddings of the demon of curiosity after he had crossed the Nyabarongo. The water ran out of the pot and spread onto the ground. Nyamukama was informed and replied that in order /431/ to get rain, all that was needed was to build upon the spot where the water from the vessel had been spilled, and to dig into the hill (mubuz' imvura, mwubake, muhafukure). Many of the kings of Ruanda have indeed elected this hill as one of their favorite capitals.

In times of drought it is customary to scratch its soil lightly as though searching for a spring, and it is said that Nyamukama's
[103] prophecies always come true. This is why the area is appropriately called Bgeramvura (kugera imvura), that is to say, "the place where rain comes forth."

It is for the same reason, and to obtain the same results, that at Mata in Marangara, people dig into both sides of the hill.

The first of the two holes is called "the fountain of milk" (iliba ry'amata) and symbolizes abundance. Cows will then yield more milk. The other hole is called by the name of "source of rain" (iliba ry'imvura). Just by dealing it a few blows with a hoe, a favorable influence is exercised upon the clouds, which will give forth a beneficent rain.

[1] [i.e., the Bashara. - Ann'tr]

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sticks so that the custom should not altogether lose its penal character.

2. Another improvement over the past has been the complete suppression during the two preceding reigns of the odious custom which prompted each new prince when he ascended the throne to send his troops into the Russokovu, between the Bugamba and Kingogo, to make war and receive their baptism of fire.

This was called "to make the king's spear drink blood" (guhir' icchumu ry' umwami).

Just as the Banyarwanda have the habit of leading their herds to the watering hole (guhir' inka) at the /463/ beginning of the day, a traditional custom also made it necessary for the king to make his spear drink blood (kunywesh' amarasso icchumu ry' umwami) upon his accession to the throne.

After killing some unfortunate people, the victorious warriors returned home.

The beginning of a reign could not be augured more auspiciously.

773 Ruganzu II Ndori was the first to launch such an expedition, which later became traditional.

He did this to punish the killers of his father. According to one version, which has already been cited (1), old King Ndahiro was

1. Cf. Book III, Histoire du règne de Ruganzu II, /History of Ruganzu II's Reign/ /not translated/.

killed at Russokovo, by the Bakongoro (a segment of the great Banyabyinshi faction) who had rebelled against him and whom he had set out to subjugate.

The expedition ended in disaster. Ndahiro, so the tradition adds, died there along with many of his followers. The rebels seized the king's drums and had them burned. Only the Kalinga, or palladium of the realm, escaped the conquerors. This is why the [103] place where the defeat took place has been known since by the name

773 [103] of Rubi rw'inyundo, meaning "the evil of the hammer," to recall that the weapons wrought by the blacksmiths' hammers were fatal there to Ndahiro and his warriors (2).

2. There are numerous variations on this historical theme. The inhabitants of the Bugamba insist that Ruganzu II was smoked out of Kirengo Cave by the Banyabyinshi. Hence the custom, they say, of leading two of the inhabitants of the land to the capital, where they were beaten, in memory of and punishment for this misdeed. Others believe that it was Chyilima-Rugwe who was fatally injured by the Bakongoro and who, pursued by his enemies, came to die near Gasseke, where his skeleton was later found. These tragic circumstances would explain the 15 annual days of mourning in June, if the disaster was such as the chroniclers lead us to suppose.

178 643 3. Fortunate, too, is the abolition of the custom which prompted the young king to kill one of his maternal uncles (nyirarume) with his own hands, an act which was political as well as /464/ superstitious, and which often followed close on the murder of the princes who were the monarch's relatives by marriage.

The prosperity of the realm was believed to depend on the fulfillment of cruel customs.

The abolition of these barbarous practices would be wholly to the credit of the Banyarwanda were it not for the fact that in 1895, at the time when Mibambge-Rutalindwa was deposed, the victorious Bega faction then in power committed innumerable atrocities toward

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1. The existence of stones shaped like hammers has given rise to several tales.

The Banyarwanda formerly believed that the vault of heaven was a sort of rocky crust (urutare).

This is why in the legend of Kigwa they explain the fall of the first Hamitic king and his settlement in Ruanda in the following way. "Kigwa," they say, "being in the sky, wished to know what there was in the land below.

"Taking a hammer, he dealt repeated blows to the celestial vault. A small opening was made and the hammer fell out of his hand and down to the Mulera, at the spot called Gifuna. He attempted to enlarge the hole with a second hammer. He struck with such violence that the vault caved in under him. Kigwa fell from the sky but arose safe and sound in the sacred land of the Buhanga on the Muko plain. The hammer sank into the ground near Ntenyo, at the place called Nyundo ("hammer").

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"This one may still be seen," add the Blacks. A stone lies at that spot which looks from afar like a native hammer.

The natives lavish upon it a superstitious worship mingled with fear. No one may touch it. Should a sacrilegious hand attempt

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to move it, according to local belief, hail would soon avenge this insult to the sacred tool.

The same legend adds that Kigwa's mother immediately bent over the hole to see what had become of her son. The ornamental headdress (urugore) which she wore broke loose and remained suspended in mid-air.

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It is believed that this ornament (originally made of a large sorghum stalk) was the origin of the moon!....

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10. The pomp that surrounds the king on his journeys. Customs observed on such occasions.

In the course of their journeys through the provinces of the realm, Hamitic princes must, in accordance with a centuries-old tradition, stay whenever possible with the Bagessera.

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It will be recalled that the latter's totem is the wagtail, and that a Munyarwanda /Banyarwanda/, Mututsi /Batutsi/, or Muhutu /Bahutu/ may not enter a newly built dwelling before the bird has been over the hut or in its immediate vicinity. /496/

According to popular belief, the Bagessera have the privilege of establishing contact with this bird of good omen. The Blacks request members of this clan to use their special ability to attract the wagtail.

The king calls upon them, as does the least of his subjects. It may be on account of this role played by the Bagessera that the sovereign chooses their villages to spend the night.

Another reason why the monarch prefers to stay among them possibly derives from the regard accorded to the members of this tribe, which is believed to be the oldest in Ruanda. They lent their name to the province called Bugessera, where all Bagessera claim to have originated.

769 d. The cult of Kibogo and the observance of a day of rest.
773 As for Kibogo, a brother of Ruganzu II and son of King Ndahiro, although he never ascended the throne, he is honored in a special way owing to his role as Liberator. It will be recalled that he was appointed by the diviners to save the land and bring a drought to a close. He was taken to the sky and wrapped in a cloud, and his ascension had fortunate consequences for Ruanda. Each newly elected prince builds him a separate dwelling outside the royal enclosure, so that Kibogo will truly be "at home." The hut consecrated to him is surrounded by a large and beautiful courtyard. A woman lives there and cares with her servants for the traditional herd of cows assigned to the purely theoretical "needs" of the spirits.

769 The present monarch complied with this custom by building him a home, as his predecessors did, /537/ which is altogether separate from the other dwellings and which is still designated by the name of "Kibogo's place." He even has a special drum, which emphasizes further the importance of the role he played in the past.

537 The Kibogo episode is connected with a curious practice which is still observed today in some provinces. It consists of stopping work in the fields once every five days, but in the morning only. This practice gave rise to the well-known word chumweru, which contains the meaning of "white" and "whiteness" and which the Christians have adopted now to designate Sunday.

On what occasion and at what time did the Banyarwanda choose this day? Some trace the custom back to Gihanga the Creator. It is not unusual, indeed, to hear on the lips of pagans the expression Chumweru cha Gihanga, "Gihanga's white day."

Others say that Chumweru was a man in Kibogo's retinue. He belonged to the Basindi clan, they add, and he lived at Ruhina, not far from the present Kabgayi mission. He was in the service of Kibogo and watched over his crops (guhingishiriza). He went along with his master on the day of his "ascension," carrying around his neck the small bag (uruhago) of banana-tree fiber which contained his chief's pipe and tobacco.

The cloud seized them all together.

173 their history, but they regard it as a hallowed secret of the Batutsi which belongs to the category of ibanga [secrets].

173 Father F. Dufays and Father P. Loupias succeeded in learning about one of the traditions of ancient times from a Mututsi whom 114 I personally know very well but whose name I must withhold out of consideration for his own safety. The man clashed with his fellow tribesmen [287] and told his story to the missionaries to express his gratitude for their protection.

173 According to this story, human beings in former times lived in heaven as well as on the earth. The children of Nyina Kigwa, 173 Kigwa, Lututsi, and their sister, Nyina Batutsi, were cast out from heaven as a punishment for their mother's loquacity. They fell to earth in Bugansa, Ruanda, and discovered the following Bahutu families in the country: the Basinga, Bagessera, and Bazigaba. In the forest they found the Batwa. The Bahutu and Batwa had been expelled from heaven before them. The new immigrants brought fire, agriculture (hoe culture), cattle raising, and industry (iron technique). In this way they gained influence, and Kigwa became the ruler of Ruanda. Kigwa married his sister, Nyina Batutsi, and became the protoplast of the Banieginia who are descended from his three sons and still rule Ruanda. Lututsi emigrated to Karagwe and married one of Kigwa's three daughters. He became the protoplast of the Bega who supply the kings of Ruanda with wives and mothers who are their peers. Kigwa and his descendants kept in touch with heaven through Batabazi redeemers, who came to their aid in times of great need. There are three chief Batabazi mentioned. The first protected the children of Nyina Batutsi and brought animals to Ruanda; the second was Kihana, son of King Ndahiro; and the third, Kyamweru, was the son of King Luzugira Iwijuru.

[117] This tradition contains some details of Christian legends, which we shall not go into here. Its origin will probably be determined some day, but at present it is a mystery. However, the statement that the children of Nyina Kigwa (referring doubtless to the Batutsi) brought fire and hoe culture into the country can be written off as historically incorrect. In any case, it is certain that this story tells us about the settling of the Batutsi in Ruanda and the establishment of their rule in Bugansa, and that at this time Bagessera,

173 Basinga, and Bazigaba were already settled in the land and
173 Batwa were roaming the forests. In other words, conditions then were much the same as they are now in Mulera.

Dr. Kandt's report (1) about the ancient history of the country

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

is somewhat different. "When the first human being lived in Ruanda with his five sons, Kitussi, Kitwa, Kinjabungu, etc., Kitwa killed one of his brothers out of jealousy. At first the father wanted to kill him for this, but hesitated because he was his own flesh and blood. So he sent him into the wilderness with the curse that all his descendants were to dwell among the descendants of the other sons as pariahs."

Here, in contrast to the tradition mentioned earlier, we find no references to the fact that the Batutsi immigrated at a later time. [288] Moreover, the representatives of all the tribes are referred to as descendants of the same ancestors. This is probably the best proof that the account has little historical significance.

173 Let us now turn to more accurate accounts about the Ruanda state. In my inquiries into the history of the state I succeeded in getting data that may be summarized in the following list of rulers. However, we must admit that the individual sources were sometimes very contradictory. For this reason further investigation is needed before a definite genealogy can be given. There is always the possibility that some of the succession of rulers listed here may be brothers, but usually collateral descendants of former times are forgotten.

The rulers of Ruanda are:

1. Kigwa.
2. Nyeranda.
3. Kadji.
4. Muntu.
5. Kihanga.
6. Ndoba.
7. Ndore I.
8. Ndahiro I or Dabarasa.
9. Ruganzu or Luzugira. (Kihana).

776 Even though Imana is supposedly the creator, there are no
773 special tales about his relation to the other powerful spirits, for example, Ryangombe. The Banyaruanda seem to have an altogether vague and indefinite idea of him. The strangest thing is the story of his appearance on earth in the form of a child who was even whiter than kaolin (runoni). The child had supernatural power. Among other things, he changed water into milk. Imana created the first human beings. The first man married his sister, but neither of them had a father or a mother. Imana gave them fire.

Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) listed Lugira, Lulema, and

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 78.

Kihanga as synonyms for Imana.

The myths about Imana seem to be less known or kept more secret, at least in Kissaka, than the stories about other spirits.

778 [302] Every Mututsi is said to revere a particularly sacred
825 bull in his herd, which has a secret connection with Imana. The sacred bull of Musinga was allegedly very fierce and attacked many people. It is maintained that those who were attacked by the bull were recognized by the animal as enemies of the king. If they came through alive, they were in former times punished with death. This custom has been given up in the last three or four years, probably as the result of greater contact with Europeans, but the unfortunate ones are still in very bad repute.

778 We must not forget that the vessels containing remnants of chickens and the fat of sacrificed sheep, which the Batutsi wear around their necks, are also called "Imana."

776 Even more puzzling than Imana are the batabazi in the
773 Ruanda pantheon. I have already mentioned them in the chapter on the history of Ruanda. Father L. Classe told me that the myth of the flood as well as the idea of the sacrifice of an individual life to save mankind appear in the batabazi legends. The people survive the flood in a hut made watertight with earth.

The batabazi are Batutsi because they are associated with the reigning family.

Ryangombe and his Bagaragu. Ryangombe with his bagaragu (clients) and relatives plays the most important role in the Ruanda cult.

We have already expressed the opinion that in the traditions about Ryangombe there is a memory of an historical hero. In favor of this view we have the story (umugani) given below (which does not say much), and in addition, the fact that Kakuku, Mugasha, Kagoro, and Rubaga are mentioned among his retinue. The latter three are semihistorical personalities and, according to our research, belong to the family that ruled in Bunyoro before the Babito, whereas Kakuku is probably identical with Bukuku from the older Bunyoro dynasty.

Ryangombe's nearest relatives do not seem to play any special role and are mentioned only in reference to the hero. Hence we shall only list them. His father was Ndema, and his grandfather, Migongo. Babinga was his mother, and Nyundo, his grandmother. His wife, Nyakisha, presented him with a child called kachumu kato kato kavira imyuna mumbuga, "a small, small spear stained with blood up to the hilt." According to other accounts, his wife was Kadjumba, and their son, Binego.

In other accounts we find somewhat different statements. Lieutenant Von Parisch (1) calls Ryangombe's wife Njawirungu

1. Parisch, F.R. Von, "Zwei Reisen durch Ruanda 1902 bis 1903," Globus, Vol. 86 (1904), p. 10.

and his father Bawinda which [303] he has probably confused with the name of the mother, Babinga.

Captain Von Beringe (1), on the other hand, calls

1. Beringe, Captain Von, an account of his journeys in the region of the Kirunga volcanoes, Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten 1901, p. 37.